

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EA-06 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

OMB-01 AID-05 IO-10 /078 W  
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R 050547Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 904

INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMCONSUL KARACHI

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMCONSUL LAHORE

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 6134

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PK, IN

SUBJ: PAK PUBLIC AND PRESS REACTION TO INDIAN  
DEVELOPMENTS

REF: A. KARACHI 1316 (NOTAL); B. LAHORE 773 (NOTAL);  
C. ISLAMABAD 5959RR; D. ISLAMABAD (USIS) 6002

SUMMARY: REACTION IN PAKISTAN TO INDIAN DEVELOPMENTS  
AND ARTICULATIONS OF VIEWS ABOUT THEM HAVE VARIED  
ACCORDING TO THE SOPHISTICATION, POLITICAL LEANINGS,  
AND BACKGROUND OF THE OBSERVER. AMID THE DIVERSITY  
OF RESPONSES THERE IS AT LEAST ONE COMMON THEME, A CON-  
CERN--STILL VAGUELY SENSED AND LARGELY INCHOATE--  
AMONG EDUCATED PAKISTANIS THAT EVENTS IN INDIA WILL EV-  
ENTUALLY AFFECT THEIR OWN COUNTRY. THE REACTION OF THE  
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EDUCATED ELITES HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANTLY INFLUENCED BY

WHAT SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN A WIDESPREAD APPRECIATION ON ITS PART THAT MRS. GANDHI HAS BEEN PAKISTAN'S BEST BET AS INDIAN PRIME MINISTER, AND MOST OF OUR BETTER INFORMED AND MORE THOUGHTFUL PAK CONTACTS EXPRESSED THE HOPE, AT LEAST BEFORE JUNE 26, THAT SHE WOULD CONTINUE IN OFFICE. THE REPRESSIVE MEASURES TAKEN BY THE GOI ON THAT DATE AND AFTERWARDS WERE AS MUCH A SHOCK AND SURPRISE TO PAKISTANIS AS THEY WERE TO OTHERS: MANY WERE DISMAYED, BUT SOME FOUND CAUSE FOR SATISFACTION. GREAT UNCERTAINTY PREVAILS ABOUT WHAT WILL HAPPEN NEXT. THE CONCERN ABOUT HOW IT WILL ALL AFFECT PAKISTAN TAKES MANY FORMS: THERE IS SPECULATION ABOUT AN EVENTUAL STROKE AGAINST PAKISTAN BY AN INDIAN GOVERNMENT ANXIOUS TO BOLSTER ITS DOMESTIC SUPPORT, ABOUT THE POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS OF A LURCH TO THE LEFT, A MILITARY TAKEOVER,

COMMUNAL DISTURBANCES THERE. THE PAK PRESS IS BECOMING MORE CRITICAL OF MRS. GANDHI AND IS FINDING IN INDIAN DEVELOPMENTS OBJECT LESSONS FOR PAKISTAN. END SUMMARY.

1. PAKISTANIS' ALWAYS CONCERNED WITH DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIA, HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING THE INDIAN POLITICAL CRISIS WITH LIVELY AND CONCERNED INTEREST SINCE IT FIRST BROKE IN THE WAKE OF THE ALLAHABAD HIGH COURT DECISION. THIS INTEREST HAS BEEN GREATLY HEIGHTENED BY THE GOI'S EMERGENCY PROCLAMATION, A MOVE AS UNFORSEEN IN PAKISTAN AS ELSEWHERE. REACTION TO THESE EVENTS AND ARTICULATION OF VIEWS ABOUT THEM HAVE VARIED ACCORDING TO THE SOPHISTICATION, POLITICAL LEANINGS, AND BACKGROUND OF THE OBSERVER. DISCUSSIONS WHICH WE HAVE HAD HERE AND AT THE CONSULATES (WHICH HAVE CONTRIBUTED SIGNIFICANTLY TO THIS REPORT) SUGGEST, HOWEVER, THAT AMID THE DIVERSITY OF RESPONSES THERE IS AT LEAST ONE COMMON THEME, A CONCERN--STILL VAGUELY SENSED AND LARGELY INCHOATE--AMONG EDUCATED PAKISTANIS THAT EVENTS IN INDIA WILL EVENTUALLY AFFECT THEIR OWN COUNTRY.

2. THE REACTION OF THE EDUCATED ELITE HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANTLY INFLUENCED BY WHAT SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN A WIDESPREAD APPRECIATION ON ITS PART(SHARED, BUT NOT INSPIRED, BY  
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THE GOP) THAT MRS. GANDHI HAS BEEN PAKISTAN'S BEST BET AS INDIAN PRIME MINISTER. INDIRA IS HARDLY A POPULAR FIGURE IN PAKISTAN. HER ROLE IN THE 1971 DISMEMBERMENT OF THE COUNTRY IS STILL WELL REMEMBERED, AND THERE IS GOOD EVIDENCE THAT THE PAK MASSES WERE CHEERED BY HER POLITICAL DISCOMFITURE. BUT MOST OF OUR BETTER INFORMED AND MORE THOUGHTFUL PAKISTANI CONTACTS EXPRESSED THE HOPE, AT LEAST BEFORE JUNE 26, THAT SHE WOULD CONTINUE IN OF-

FICE . UP TO THAT DATE SHE WAS SEEN AS A FORCE FOR STABIL-  
ITY, AS A MODERATE, AND AS A KNOWN QUANTITY, A LEADER  
THE BHUTTO GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN ABLE TO DEAL WITH OVER  
THE PAST THREE AND A HALF YEARS WITH AT LEAST SOME MEA-  
SURE OF SATISFACTION AND CONFIDENCE AND SOMEONE WHO  
COULD "DELIVER THE GOODS" IN BRINGING ABOUT FURTHER INDO-  
PAK NORMALIZATION IN THE FUTURE. OUR KARACHI CONTACTS  
FAVORABLY NOTED HER SECULAR OUTLOOK, IMPOR-  
TANT IN LIGHT OF PAK CONCERN (PARTICULARLY AMONG THE  
MUHAJIR REFUGEE COMMUNITY) FOR THE FUTURE OF INDIAN MUS-  
LIMS. HER PUTATIVE SUCCESSORS, INSOFAR AS OUR CONTACTS  
COULD IDENTIFY THEM, WERE GENERALLY CONSIDERED MORE COM-  
MUNAL-MINDED AND UNTRUSTWORTHY. THE MORE APPREHENSIVE  
FEARED THAT IN THEIR EFFORTS TO WIN POPULARITY AND MAIN-  
TAIN THEMSELVES IN OFFICE THEY MIGHT UNDERTAKE ADVEN-  
TURES IN WHICH PAKISTAN WOULD BE A POTENTIAL TARGET.  
A MORE RELAXED VIEW WAS THAT GIVEN THEIR UNSURE POSI-  
TION THEY WOULD HAVE POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES IN PROCEED-  
ING FURTHER TOWARD IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN.

3. DESPITE THESE APPREHENSIONS ABOUT THE NATURE OF A  
POST-INDIRA INDIA, MANY PAKISTANI ELITES HAILED WITH  
CONSIDERABLE SATISFACTION THE DECISION OF THE ALLAHA-  
BAD HIGH COURT, SEEN BY THEM AS A VINDICATION OF INDIAN  
CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES AND, PARTICULARLY BY OPPOSI-  
TIONISTS, AS AN EXAMPLE OF JUDICIAL INDEPENDENCE FROM  
WHICH THE PAKISTAN BENCH MIGHT APPROPRIATELY PROFIT  
IN ITS CONSIDERATION OF THE NATIONAL AWAMI  
PARTY CASE AND OTHERWISE.

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EA-06 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

OMB-01 AID-05 IO-10 /078 W

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R 050547Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 905

INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO  
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AMCONSUL LAHORE  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
USLO PEKING

RVU N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 6134

4. THE REPRESSIVE MEASURES TAKEN BY THE GOI ON JUNE 26 AND AFTERWARDS WERE AS MUCH A SHOCK AND SURPRISE TO PAKISTANIS AS THEY WERE TO OTHERS. FOR MANY EDUCATED ELITES, THE SUSPENSION OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS, THE ARREST OF OPPOSITION LEADERS, AND THE CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS CAUSED CONSIDERABLE DISMAY. FOR A GOOD NUMBER OF THEM, INDIAN DEMOCRACY, WITH ALL ITS IMPERFECTIONS, HAD BEEN SOMETHING OF A MODEL, AND ITS BREAKDOWN SEEMED TO MAKE PROSPECTS FOR SURVIVAL OF PAKISTAN'S FRAIL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS EVEN LESS PROMISING THAN THEY HAD BEEN BEFORE. SOME APPEAR TO HAVE REGARDED THE EVENTS WITH WRY BITTERNESS: A FREQUENT JIBE HAS BEEN THAT PAKISTAN HAS, FOR ONCE, SHOWN INDIA THE WAY. OTHERS HAVE EXPRESSED EITHER SARDONIC OR GENUINE SATISFACTION THAT INDIA WILL NO LONGER BE ABLE TO "LORD IT OVER PAKISTAN", WILL JUST BE "ANOTHER THIRD WORLD DICTATORSHIP", AND, CONFIDENTIAL

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ON THE PRACTICAL LEVEL, WILL LOSE THE ADVANTAGES ITS DEMOCRATIC CREDENTIALS HAD GIVEN IT IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS. (WE UNDERSTAND IN THIS CONNECTION THAT MFA NOW BELIEVES PAKISTAN'S CHANCES OF BEATING OUT INDIA FOR UN SECURITY COUNCIL SEAT HAVE BEEN IMPROVED BY INDIAN DEVELOPMENTS). BUT THE APPARENT INITIAL SUCCESS OF MRS. GANDHI'S ACTION PROMPTED WHAT FOR SOME WAS THE SELF-SATISFYING CONCLUSION THAT INDIAN DEMOCRACY HAD PROVED AFTER ALL A SHAM.

5. GREAT UNCERTAINTY PREVAILS ABOUT WHAT WILL HAPPEN NEXT IN INDIA. PAKST ARE NO BETTER INFORMED THAT OTHERS ABOUT INDIAN DEVELOPMENTS AND ARE MORE ANXIOUS TO GET INFORMATION AND INTERPRETATIONS FROM US THAN THEY ARE PREPARED TO OFFER FORECASTS. BUT MOST OF OUR RESPONDENTS SEEM TO FEEL THAT THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM IN INDIA HAS RECEIVED AN IRREVERSIBLE BLOW; FEW BELIEVE THAT THE SUSPENSION OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS WILL SOON BE LIFTED AND THE SITUATION RETURNED TO NORMAL. PERHAPS THE PREVALENT

VIEW IS THAT MRS. GANDHI, INCREASINGLY FEARFUL OF FACING THE ELECTORATE, WILL SIMPLY CLING TO POWER UNTIL SHE IS FORCED OUT. FEW HAZARD FORECASTS ABOUT HOW OR WHEN THAT WILL HAPPEN.

6. THE STILL INCHOATE CONCERNS ABOUT HOW THESE UNPRECEDENTED EVENTS AND THEIR UNCERTAIN OUTCOME WILL AFFECT PAKISTAN TAKES DIFFERENT FORMS. SOME OF OUR CONTACTS WORRY ABOUT THE IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN OF AN AUTHORITARIAN INDIA HEADED BY SOMEONE, WHETHER MRS. GANDHI OR A SUCCESSOR, WHO MIGHT FIND IN A STROKE AGAINST PAKISTAN A WAY TO RESTORE UNITY AND ENHANCE THE POPULARITY OF A DISCREDITED OR INSECURE REGIME. OTHERS SPECULATE, NATURALLY ENOUGH FOR PAKISTANIS, ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A MILITARY TAKEOVER IN INDIA AND WONDER WHAT THIS MIGHT MEAN. SOME ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE IMPACT ON PAKISTAN OF AN INDIAN LURCH TO THE LEFT, OTHERS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF COMMUNAL DIFFICULTIES IN INDIA INTO WHICH PAKISTAN MIGHT WILLY-NILLY BE DRAWN. (WE HAVE NOT PICKED UP ANY TALK HERE YET ABOUT PAKISTAN'S FINDING AN OPPORTUNITY IN PROSPECTIVE INDIAN TURMOIL: THIS COULD COME IF THE INDIAN INTERNAL SECURITY SITUATION

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WERE TO DETERIORATE, BUT WE DOUBT THAT EVEN THEN THERE WOULD BE MANY SUBSCRIBERS TO THIS DANGEROUS DOCTRINE UNLESS CHAOTIC CONDITIONS DEVELOPED THERE).

7. AS REPORTED EARLIER (REFTEL D), THE PAK PRESS HAS BEEN UNUSUALLY CIRCUMSPECT IN DEALING WITH INDIAN DEVELOPMENTS FOLLOWING THE DECLARATION OF EMERGENCY. GOVERNMENT INSTRUCTIONS HAVE EVIDENTLY DETERRED MANY NEWSPAPERS FROM EDITORIALIZING, AND PUBLICATIONS WHICH IN OTHER TIMES COMMENT READILY, AND USUALLY INVIDIOUSLY, ON FAR LESS SIGNIFICANT INDIAN EVENTS HAVE EITHER REMAINED SILENT OR HAVE CONFINED THEMSELVES TO CAUTIOUS OBSERVATIONS STRESSING (THE GOP LINE) THAT THESE ARE INTERNAL INDIAN MATTERS ABOUT WHICH PAKISTAN HOLDS NO OFFICIAL VIEW. BUT THIS IS BEGINNING TO CHANGE: THE WIDELY CIRCULATED URDU DAILIES NAWA-I-WAQT AND JANG TURNED THEIR EDITORIAL ATTENTION AWAY FROM PUNJAB PROVINCIAL POLITICS AND MIDDLE EASTERN DEVELOPMENTS ON JULY 2 -AND 3 RESPECTIVELY TO LAUNCH SHARP ATTACKS ON MRS. GANDHI'S "DICTATORSHIP". NAWA-I-WAQT'S COMMENTARY ILLUSTRATED THE TENDENCY OF THE PAK PRESS TO USE INDIAN DEVELOPMENTS TO GRIND ITS OWN EDITORIAL AXES: THE MOST INDEPENDENT PAPER IN PAKISTAN, IT BITTERLY CONDEMNED MRS. GANDHI'S SUPPRESSION OF THE PRESS. BY THE SAME TOKEN, THE GOP-LINING DAWN AND PAKISTAN TIMES HAD IN EARLIER EDITORIALS FOUND IN THE EVENTS ACROSS THE BORDER THE OCCASION TO

IMPLY THAT PAKISTAN OPPOSITION LEADERS, SILL BOYCOTTING  
THE NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES, MIGHT PROFIT  
BY OBSERVING THE TREATMENT METED OUT TO AN INDIAN OPPOSI-  
TION WHICH HAD (SIMILARLY) REFUSED TO ABIDE BY POLITICAL  
RULES. BUT NO EDITORIAL WE HAVE SEEN SO FAR HAS DISCUS-  
SED WHAT INDIAN DEVELOPMENTS MEAN IN A MORE DIRECT SENSE  
FOR PAKISTAN, UNLESS THE GOP CHANGES ITS PRESENT PRESS  
GUIDELINES THIS WORRISOME SUBJECT IS NOT LIKELY TO REACH  
PUBLIC PRINT.  
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## Message Attributes

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